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POCAHONTAS—MRS. JOHN ROLFE
PORTRAIT PAINTED IN ENGLAND ABOUT 1616

THE GABRIELINO INDIANS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

BY BERNICE EASTMAN JOHNSTON

PART VIII

THE ISLANDS

VISIBLE from the mainland lay the islands on which the Spanish were to fix the melodious names of Santa Catalina and San Clemente, and beyond was small San Nicolás. The Gabrielinos had a descriptive phrase for them. "*Wexaj momte asunga wow*," they said. "*Mountain ranges that are in the sea.*"

The language spoken on all these islands, and perhaps on tiny Santa Barbara Island as well, was Shoshonean. The dialect of the most dominant of the group, Santa Catalina, was Gabrielino, and it is probable that this was also true of San Clemente. The speech of the inhabitants of the Channel Islands off the Ventura-Santa Barbara coast was Chumash, but the material culture of the entire group, including the Shoshonean, at the time of the advent of the Spanish, is classified under the term "Canaliño."

True to form, the mainland Gabrielinos found something uncanny, even sinister, in the isolation granted their tribesmen by the rough waters of the channel. Although brisk trading went on between them, and the mainland had learned from the religious genius of the men of Santa Catalina many of the elements of their vigorous *Chungichnish* cult, it was said, probably in appropriate whispers, that while the shamans of the mainland might kill their enemies with poison, those of the islands were fierce wizards who used wolves to carry out their lethal designs.

The Spanish, when the turn of history brought them to Santa Catalina in October 1542, saw nothing at all to fear in these simple fishermen and artisans in basketry and stone. As Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo's ships came to anchor the natives took up their bows, while their women and children fled to hide in the chapparal, but the explorers managed to convey by signs convincing proof of their peaceful intent. Soon the Spaniards went ashore, amid what seems to have been a cosy feeling of friendliness and mutual trust.

An even more cordial reception was accorded the Vizcaino party of 1602, which was beckoned to shore by signal fires. The author of the general diary of that expedition wrote,

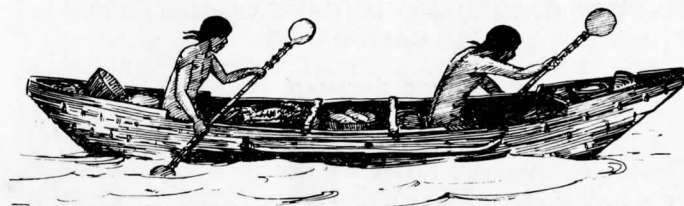


FIG. 1—GABRIELINO PLANK CANOE USED IN THE ISLAND TRADE
From "Yamino Kwiti" by Donna Preble
Courtesy of Caxton Printers

"We anchored, and the admiral, Ensign Alarcon, Father Fray Antonio, and Captain Peguero, with some soldiers, went ashore. Many Indians were on the beach, and the women treated us to roasted sardines and a small fruit like sweet potatoes."

Thus, almost casually, are reported the earliest meetings of these Indians, so long established on their peaceful shores, and the restless Europeans who were welcomed with shouts and "great rejoicings." Many elements of drama are present in these events, and not the least of them lie in the extraordinary courage of the explorers in their small, poor ships, with simple navigation equipment, and inadequate stores of food and water. A description of the symptoms of scurvy, as penned by Father Juan de Torquemada, using the records of the Vizcaino expedition for his source, removes from these oft-told events any tinge of mere romantic adventure.

Although Vizcaino went on to explore Monterey Bay, he saw little more of the coast than had Cabrillo, sixty years earlier, or Cermeno during the intervening years. He visualized the use of this bay as a port of call for the treasure ship, the Manila Galleon, which annually reached a point almost, if not quite, as far north as Cape Mendocino, before turning to sail before the northwest wind to a haven in Mexico, sometimes running a gauntlet of freebooters on the way. Critics point out that these ships stood out to sea a hundred or more miles at the most northerly point, and that San Diego would have made a much better port, and one far closer to sources of supply and defense.

However Vizcaino's motives and accomplishments may be evaluated, he was an intrepid explorer, and he and his chroniclers left a mass of reports that became the sources for historians, from Fr. Torquemada and Venegas down to those of today. The original narratives and "representations" were

intended to influence His Majesty, Philip III of Spain, to order a second expedition. During a long delay, while this was under consideration, Vizcaino died. All his ambitious plans for the settling of California and the conversion to Christianity of the thousands of Indian inhabitants, for whose souls, "going to destruction," he apparently felt a genuine concern, went into the dusty archives of Spain and Mexico.

The importance, to our study, of these expeditions lies in these diaries and narrations. Venegas quoted from them in his descriptions of the women of Santa Catalina as handsome, with lovely eyes and features, and of the children as fair, affable, and usually smiling. The writer of the Vizcaino diary reported that the faces of the women showed them to be modest. All seemed to agree, however, that the men added a talent for thievery to their general cleverness and first-rate intelligence.

Soon after their landing, probably in Avalon bay, the ships moved to an anchorage in the Port of Catalina, on the seaward side of the isthmus. Here, the diarist wrote, "The general went inland to see the opposite coast. He found on the way a level prairie, very well cleared, where the Indians were assembled to worship an idol which was there. It resembled a demon, having two horns, no head, a dog at its feet, and many children painted all around it. The Indians told the General not to go near it but he approached it and saw the whole thing, and made a cross, and placed the name of Jesus on the head of the demon, telling the Indians that that was good, and of heaven, but that the idol was the devil. At this the Indians marvelled, and they will readily renounce it and receive our Holy Faith, for apparently they have good intellects and are friendly and desirous of our friendship."

Other records called this clearing a "patio" and described the "temple" as a large circle, surrounded by feathers from birds which the Indians had sacrificed. At one side of the figure painted "like a demon" was an image of the sun, at the other one of the moon. While the party was visiting the spot two ravens flew from the enclosure to some rocks. The soldiers killed them with their arquebuses, which threw the Indians into the wildest lamentation. The devil, explained the writer, talked to the natives through the ravens.

The skill of the islanders as fishermen was described by such adjectives as graceful, easy, and pleasant. Sea lions and large fish were caught by bone harpoons, which were fastened to the ends of thin willow rods tied with long cords.

So impressed were the Spanish by the plank boats (Fig. 1) that they credited them as being large enough to carry twenty men, adding that they were often managed by only two, with a boy along "to bail out the water which flows in."



FIG. 2—BASKETRY JUG,
Shell Bead Decoration.

We read: "The general gave them beads and they gave him prickly pears and a grain like the *gofio* of the Canary Islands, in some wicker baskets very well made, and water in vessels resembling flasks which were like rattan inside and very thickly varnished outside. (Fig. 2) They had acorns and some very heavy skins, apparently of bears, with heavy fur, which they used for blankets." The diarist noted the trading prowess of the Indians, which produced in exchange for old clothes, "skins, nets, thread, and

very well-twisted ropes, these in great quantities and resembling linen."

Through these records we can review what these Indians were in their prehistoric state, members of a stable, primitive society, clean in body, healthy, skillful artisans, boatmen and fishermen of grace and skill, and also deeply religious in their own tradition. Where in these earliest portraits of the island Gabrielinos do we find the mythical "digger Indians," the lazy degenerates, the filthy and loutish folk which the later tradition set up as typical of the natives of this tribe?

One of the authors whose immediate reports of the expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino afforded material for the later historians, was Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension. In 1620 a report of his was forwarded to the Viceroy of Mexico. This was accompanied by a "Memorial" by one Francisco Arellanes which read as follows:

"A Brief Report in which the Information of the Discovery which was made in New Spain, in the South Sea, from the port of Acapulco to a point beyond Cape Mendocino: containing an account of the Riches, the

Temperate Climate, and the Advantages of the Realm of the Californias, and setting forth how his Majesty will be able at little cost to pacify and incorporate it into His Royal Crown and cause the Holy Gospel to be preached in it. By Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a Religious of the Discalced Order of Carmelites, who took part in it and as Cosmographer made a map of it."

It is possible that Father Ascension pictured himself in the role which the Franciscan Father Serra was to play in reality many years later, for he left, not only a glowing description of the country, but detailed suggestions for organizing the occupation. The guard, he recommended, should contain no less than two hundred "good and honorable men," who must be expert and experienced seamen and soldiers as well. Two captains would be needed, "good Christians and God-fearing men." These were to "hold themselves in strict obedience and subjection to the religious who are of their company." Without the priests' order, counsel, and advice, war might not be made "or the heathen Indians be otherwise molested."

Another of the stipulations of Father Ascension was that no woman should embark on the expedition "in order to avoid offenses to God and dissensions between one another." Throughout his report he stresses that only love and affection must be shown the Indians. Their possessions must be respected, so that they will learn to obey the Spaniards "without opposition or repugnance," and find good reason to be grateful and to give willing assistance. He does, however, advise a watch tower and a continuous sentinel. These provisions make interesting reading when compared to the actual plans for the founding of the Franciscan missions, and to the events which took place in actuality.

For a century and a half after this "Memorial" was sent to the Viceroy these Indians might dance in their *tobet* feathers undisturbed. When at last Spain took over this land the teeming population began at once to diminish. Diseases for which the native constitution had set up no resistance took a fearful toll; but when the end came for these peaceful islanders Spain and her successor, Mexico, were only indirectly involved. The rich furs, which the diarist of the Vizcaino party thought might be bear robes, but which were in reality the skins of sea-otters, drew hunters of every adventurous race of man able to reach these islands in the sailing ships of the time.

The islanders were no match for the fierce Aleuts who came as hunters in the crews of Russian ships, or for Kanakas brought in by American sailing vessels. Ruthless and violent warfare very nearly exterminated both the sea-otters and the Indians. The time came when the hunting was no longer profitable, but before that the settlements in the coves and inlets had dwindled to the point where it became the better part of mercy to remove the survivors to the mainland. Refugees from San Clemente were assigned to Mission San Luis Rey, which may possibly account for a report that the ancient dialect of that island had been Luiseño. Although



FIG. 3—MINIATURE CANOE OF STEATITE
From Catalina. Probably a "safe voyage" charm.

San Gabriel is said to have been the destination of those from Santa Catalina, it is on a list compiled from the Baptismal Register of San Fernando that we find the name "*Pipimas*," and in parentheses following, "Islas."

San Nicolas had suffered most cruelly. It has been said that Kodiaks, left on the island to hunt, had massacred the men and appropriated their families. Some twenty survivors were taken to Santa Barbara in 1835. A gale blew up during the evacuation and, amid the confusion, one woman, discovering that her child had been left behind, leaped into the sea and swam to shore. The means to go to her rescue were not available but she was never forgotten.

In 1850 a search of the island failed to reveal a single human being but the party returned to Santa Barbara with the news of a resurgence among the sea-otters and the black seals. New hunts, by local crews, were organized and on the third of these, in 1853, traces of human occupancy were discovered which led to the finding of the "lost woman of San Nicolas." She was dressed in a tunic of satiny, green

cormorant feathers and her first act was to prepare a meal for her guests from her small store of roasted roots.

This intrepid woman lived but a few months after her rescue. No trace of a single member of the party which had preceded her to the mainland eighteen years earlier could be found, and no Indian who was brought to see her, not even a few natives of Santa Catalina, could understand her dialect, although it seemed to be from the Shoshonean stock. It has been reported that her dress and other belongings were sent to the Vatican.

This story of the "Lost Woman of San Nicolás," although not fictional, has become a legend and is told in many versions. The outline given above is based on an article printed in Scribner's Magazine in 1880. The author, Emma Hardacre, came to Santa Barbara in 1876 and knew several of the people who took part in the rescue. She made every effort to make a factual report. Mrs. Hardacre also met and talked to M. Leon de Cessac, whom she described as "a gentleman engaged in collecting archeological specimens for the French Government." The activities of this French scientist account for the amazing knowledge some Europeans have of our local Channel Island culture. M. de Cessac also discovered in Santa Barbara, and managed to secure for France a second original manuscript of Father Boscana's "*Chinigichinich*."

This may be the one which was translated by John Peabody Harrington, which differs in some details from the manuscript translated by the early pioneer resident, Alfred Robinson.

The island of San Nicolás, which for years boasted a population of one Basque shepherd, with his dogs, sheep, and the howling wind for company, now supports two hundred and fifty men engaged in the work of the Naval Air Missile Testing Program. The wind, the ravens, the sea-elephants and sea-lions are still there, as are evidences of the Indian past. Generations of collectors, some genuinely scientific in spirit, others who can only be called "pot-hunters," have removed literally tons of archeological material from the channel islands, even from this most distant and lonely of the group, but no one can quite obliterate the accumulations of centuries of the numerous and skilful fishermen and artisans who lived there.

Few individuals, other than the naval and civilian personnel stationed on San Nicolás, and the men of the 670th Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron on San Clemente, are enabled to view these outlying islands. Santa Catalina, on the contrary, is visited by a great number of tourists each year, and

of these many join the guided bus tours into the interior. Circumscribed as these necessarily are, they do traverse mountain ridges, canyons, and inlets, and afford lovely vistas of the sea. These comparatively isolated regions stimulate the imagination of one bent on reconstructing the aboriginal scene.

Throughout these tours distressing evidences of erosion cannot be ignored. These can be explained, not only by the cycle of drought which afflicts the Southwest, but by the industrious grazing and rooting of the descendants of tame animals, left on the island by white voyagers. The now wild goats and boars have multiplied enormously, and to their efforts have been added those of a small herd of bison, veterans of a movie production left behind when the rest of the cast returned to the mainland.

If today Santa Catalina Island were to be restored to the ownership of the Gabrielinos of old, it is doubtful that they could live at their ancient high standard. Certainly, the busy pigs and piglets of the wild boar population must have enormously reduced one great resource, the roots which flourished so well that the Spanish reported them as part of the native export trade with the mainland, and their loss undoubtedly contributes to the depth and breadth of areas of loose, dusty soil, ready to be washed or blown away at the first rain or gale.

Of these roots, those that Vizcaino's men compared to the sweet potato may have been of the wild cucumber, or Big Root, which was common on the islands. The Spanish called these "jicamas" or "xicamas." The Indians exported the smaller ones, but some of them grew to be quite enormous. The men of the Cermeno expedition in 1595 ate cakes prepared from these on San Martin Island off Lower California and were made quite ill, as they seemed to have purgative qualities dangerous to the unaccustomed. Another favorite food found on both the islands and the mainland, were the roots, or rather corms, of the *Brodiaea*, that lovely spring flower of heavenly blue which still survives, though sparsely. The Spanish named these nut-flavored morsels, "cacomites," from the Aztec "*cacomitl*."

The traveling public gains a very faint idea of the once flourishing Indian life on Santa Catalina. On one tour, as the bus skirts the heights above Little Harbor, "the Indian burial ground" is pointed out, far below, and as the escarpment is rounded the trenches of an archeological dig, made by the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1953,

are viewed. These two glimpses, interesting as they are, afford but a meagre notion of the discoveries which have been made in regard to the Indians of the island.

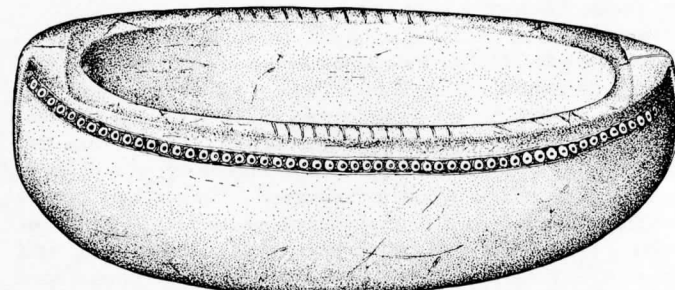


FIG. 4—CANOE FETISH WITH INLAY OF SHELL BEADS

Luckily for those who would like a more comprehensive picture of Santa Catalina as it used to be, one can turn to the writings of Charles Frederick Holder, zoologist and sportsman, founder of the famous Tuna Club. One of Holder's first impressions of his arrival there in 1886 concerned the rollicking antics and the ingrained impudence of the many ravens which were constantly robbing little chickens and turkeys from the ranch of "Chicken John," in a canyon back of Avalon. The privileged status of these birds during the centuries of Indian tenancy was soon made plain to the newcomer, as he entered wholeheartedly into historical research, consulting the records of the Vizcaino party and the work of Father Boscana in order to establish a background for the fine descriptive passages he was to write.

Among the many unforgettable scenes Holder recorded were the dunes of lonely San Nicolás. They "cover and uncover the dead," he wrote. "They fill the canyons, form strange shapes which float in the air before they are carried away. He described a "mesa of pebbles which leap into the air and blow about," and "great natural stair-cases leading from mesa to beach." The Basque shepherd was firm in the belief that the spirits were angry and made the wind blow because of the "grave-robbing" which had been carried on so extensively.

"At the west end of the island lay a great kitchen-midden about ten feet high and extending over a mile," Holder wrote. It was "made up of shells of various kinds, mostly abalones,

thrown here for ages. In this area are graves of countless natives who were buried in the long ago. As each man was buried with all his possessions there is an object in grave-robbing. Scores of parties have explored here, and doubtless the region has hardly been touched on."

In addition to the familiar objects of stone found in typical Gabrielino sites, Holder mentioned seeing objects of wood, but did not describe them in detail. These would be of more than ordinary interest to the modern student, as time and the custom of cremating the dead of the inland villagers has left somewhat of a gap in our knowledge of the material culture in so far as the use of wood is concerned. Holder told of one "collector" who found implements stored in "coffins" of wood. He himself saw fishing lines made of "bull kelp" still attached to the equipment, although the Spanish reported cord and rope "as fine as linen." He also saw, in a collection, a long stone club, "doubtless a token of office," as it was "an extraordinary weapon."

A custom of the island Indians was to preserve their small treasures in abalone shells cemented together with asphalt. One of these was presented to the Southwest Museum by W. H. Burnham, who purchased it from a collector, and countless visitors have found it of great interest. Displayed near it is an X-Ray photograph of the contents, as this prehistoric jewel case has never been opened since it was sealed by the original owner.

Continuing with his description of San Nicolás, Holder wrote, "I found one spot years ago which must have been a battlefield similar to the one I found at San Clemente. Skeletons were piled up, skulls crushed, and bones broken; while mortars too heavy to carry off were strewn about—a perfect golgotha." San Nicolás, he recalled, had been ravaged by the Russians from Alaska.

De Cessac, during his excavations on San Nicolás, in the period of 1877 to 1879, also found many examples of the work of Northwest Indians, ample proof of the visits of the hunters of the sea-otter. This French scientist definitely placed the culture of San Nicolás as related to that of San Clemente and Santa Catalina, rather than to the islands off the coast of Santa Barbara County. He was particularly eloquent in regard to the exquisite stone work, beautifully turned mortars and pestles, and small carvings of the creatures of sea, land, and air. (Fig. 5). De Cessac was fascinated, as many have been since his time, with the odd, triangular carvings which resemble conventionalized pelicans, or as Heizer

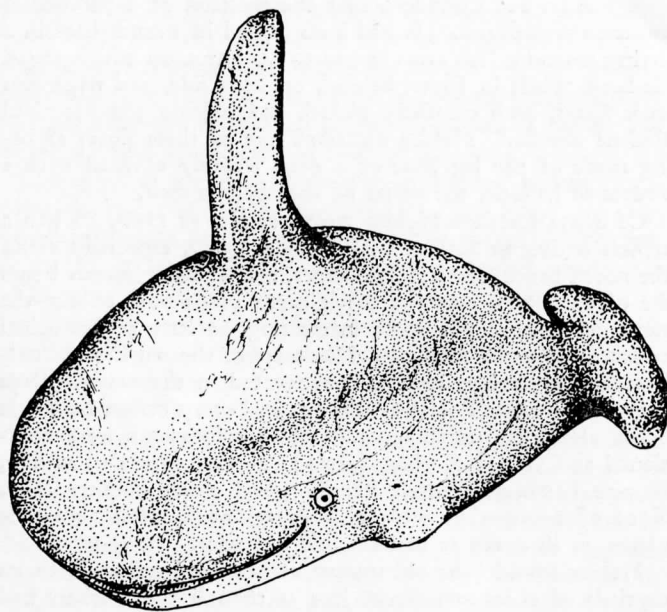


FIG. 5—KILLER WHALE FETISH

Made of Catalina steatite, it gave its owner this whale's courage and fish-catching ability.

expresses it, "the scheme or embryo of the statue of a cetacean." These may have been fetiches. One can see the possibility of such a use in the small carvings of boats, some of them inlaid with decorations of shell, to bring home safely men who braved the sea in plank canoes. (Figs. 3, 4).

Holder's account of a trip made in 1907 across San Clemente is a classic. Of one episode he wrote, "We climbed the steep hill at Howland's and were shortly on the remarkable sand-dunes; where the first view of the ancient town sites became apparent. The long billowy white sand, a menace to the island, filling the cañons, was dotted here and there with human bones and broken skulls." On the island Holder saw an entire mesa "covered with midden and broken implements." At the base of a lava flow a midden lay in front of a cave. He described lava cliffs cut by cañons, and "gaping, uncanny caves," and gleaming heaps of abalones, most of these long ago exported to be re-sold here and elsewhere in the shape of pearl buttons and trinkets.

It was on San Clemente that the skeleton of a prehistoric musician was found. He had been buried in a sand dune in a sitting position, "his arms bound to his knees, on which rested his head, while in front, behind, on each side, and over him were flutes, each carefully placed, and bearing the beautiful abalone mosaic." Holder described one of these flutes as being made of the leg-bone of a deer, entirely covered with a mosaic of halotis, the lining of the abalone shell.

Of Santa Catalina Holder wrote, as late as 1909, "When a trench is dug in any part of Avalon today, especially along the north beach, shells, implements, and ancient human bones are often found, and the black earth crops out, telling the story of one of the most interesting ancient archeological treasure-houses in America. He describes the work and "collections" of various men who excavated in the many village sites which existed at the Isthmus, at "every cañon having a beach along the north coast." Specific locations were mentioned at Catalina Harbor, Little Harbor, Johnson's Landing, Empire Landing, White's Landing, and many another inlet. Signs of occupation were also found at far less accessible places, as in caves at considerable altitudes.

Holder found "the old quarry at Empire landing, with its myriads of chips and flints, just as though the workers had been driven off and forced to drop their possessions and run." Here in the chapparal were outcroppings of steatite and the clear evidences of a prehistoric stone works. It seemed that the plan of the vanished artisans had been to "chip out a mortar with their rude implements until it resembled a ball the size of a man's head or larger, connected by a small stem. This sphere was knocked or broken off, and then hollowed out—doubtless by women—by a tedious process with stone implements—" The explorer saw "half-made mortars, others a third made, still fastened to the rock, almost perfect ones in the bush hard by, while the steatite ledge was covered in places with the scars of mortars which had been successfully removed."

Among the early excavators on the Channel Islands were Stephen Bowers, for the American Museum of Natural History and Paul Schumacher, who was commissioned by the United States Government and sent huge collections to the Smithsonian Institution and to the Peabody Museum in the 1870's. In 1887 Dr. Holder and Dr. William Channing of Boston "trenched down through four or five layers of graves at the Isthmus." The upper layers contained European objects but nothing made of metal was found in the lower

graves. With the methods of modern archeology at their command these brilliant men could have ascertained much finer gradations of development, which are lost once a site has been disturbed. The value of collections in museums is noticeably lessened when the institutions do not possess all of the data in regard to their position at the time of discovery.

The spirit of many of these early collectors, however, was scientific, and they left behind them no "tall tales" of skeletons being found of a race of "seven foot giants." This particular bit of local folk-lore is difficult to combat, as it crops up in so many reports of discoveries, especially in regard to the islands. However, anthropologists of museums and universities, who would be most interested to observe these skeletons, point out that to date these are always in the possession of "someone who knows someone who knows someone else."

Excavations have been made by contemporary scientists, who are aided by the methods developed by modern archeology but severely handicapped by the wholesale destruction of most of the sites. Notable among those who have worked on the Channel Islands are Arthur Woodward, Phil Orr, Malcolm Rogers, and Bruce Bryan. A report written by Clement W. Meighan and Hal Eberhart, published in "American Antiquity" for 1953-54, furthers archeological knowledge of San Nicolás, while an article by Meighan in a recent number of "Pacific Discovery" gives an account of his work on Santa Catalina.

An answer to the question of whether or not these islands were occupied before the coming of the Gabrielinos is given in the affirmative in the excavation by Meighan, the one which may be viewed by tourists on the crest of the heights above Little Harbor on Santa Catalina. Here there was evidence of an occupancy going back at least three thousand years, which well antedates the probable arrival of the Indians of Shoshonean stock. The settlement below, in Little Harbor itself had been so thoroughly gutted by "pot-hunters" that not much could be learned about it, although it was certainly Gabrielino and occupied in historic times, since the U.C.L.A. party found trade beads at the site.

Meighan believed the material he found on San Nicolás to go back less than a thousand years, but Orr saw parallels there with discoveries he had made on Santa Rosa of a "Dune Dweller" culture of great antiquity. Carbon 14 tests have placed the oldest "Dune Dweller" man on the northern island at a date

about seven thousand years ago.¹ No such sensational finds have been made in the southern group although one cannot predict what knowledge could come from comprehensive work, backed with sufficient funds and carried on by such reputable men and institutions as have done the recent surveys and excavations. For the present, however, it is well to be content with very conservative statements, such as Meighan made about San Nicolás when he wrote that it had been heavily settled, either by moderate numbers for a very long time, or by great numbers for a shorter period.

It is impossible to apply with any authenticity any of the traditional Gabrielino place names to the villages which once existed on Santa Catalina, although the island itself is listed by Reid as *Pineug-na*, by Kroeber as *Pimu* and *Pipimar*, and by J. P. Harrington as *Pimu'na*, with "n" indicated as nasal, a form we have been transcribing as "ngna." *Limu*, as found in a record of an early Spanish explorer, was probably an incorrect recording of *Pimu*. The Baptismal Register, as noted above, listed *Pipimas* and the few survivors of the island were known as the *Pipimares*.

Holder did not use a single native name in his descriptions of the village sites on Santa Catalina, but in a work of fiction for juveniles, "The Adventures of Torqua," for which he drew on his unexcelled knowledge of the island terrain, he made a legitimate use of literary license in applying names from Reid's list, and one less fortunately chosen from Chumash sources, to the localities which his young Indian and Spanish heroes visited. Unfortunately, an early pamphlet on the subject of Santa Catalina Island appears to have copied two of these as factual, and thus set off a chain of repetition of these place names which seem to have no other claim to authenticity.

Reid assigned the name *Kinkipar* to San Clemente Island, but Swanton calls this the name of "a village on San Clemente." As this duplicates that of a village in the San Pedro area, the meaning of which could perhaps be "Houses by the Sea," the application of the name to a village rather than to the island itself is confirmed by the small item of evidence.

An insoluble puzzle may lie in the name on Reid's list,

¹Mr. Orr has recently found, in still older strata on Santa Rosa, the charred bones of an extinct Ice Age animal, the dwarf elephant, that had apparently been cooked and eaten by man. These have been dated by Carbon 14 as about twenty-nine thousand years old.—Ed.

Harasg-na, the only one which he gave without assigning a location. This was mentioned by J. P. Harrington's informants as being "a place near San Pedro," but also, as *Xarasngna*, quite clearly described as San Clemente Island. Guthe also mentions *Kimki harasa* as the Luiseno name for San Clemente.

So far this information appears to harmonize, but one cannot ignore the fact that *Gbalas-at*, the Chumash title for San Nicolás, as Kroeber points out, is probably the Chumash form of the Gabrielino *Harasg-na*, as recorded by Reid. The similarity is made more apparent when it is remembered that the northern tribe had no sound "r" and that "l" would be the normal substitute.

J. P. Harrington's notes give the origin of this name in the term *ijoxarin*, meaning "stony," probably in the sense of "eroded," as his informants went on to explain this in the phrase, "We are living in the island of the uncovered earth." This is certainly an apt description of San Nicolás, although San Clemente need not be excluded as a contender for the title.

An Indian of Santa Catalina would have been known as a *Pimuvit*, these old Gabrielinos agreed, but when at last there existed but a few individuals who traced their ancestry to the island they were known to the folk of the Pueblo of Los Angeles, near which they existed in a tiny settlement, not as *Pimuvitam*, but as the *Pipimares*. They no longer seemed, to their almost equally diminished tribesmen of the mainland, the fierce wizards who had once fared across the rough channel waters from the mysterious stronghold of their island home. They were mild, quiet, and aloof, and quite soon they disappeared entirely from the dusty streets of the Pueblo, as they had some years earlier from their beloved "mountains which are in the sea."

(To be continued)

"FEATHER IN YOUR CAP"

The phrase "a feather in your cap" started with the Indians. Each feather represented a coup performed by the wearer and was notched or decorated to designate the type of deed. Naturally, the more feathers, the more notable the achievements of the wearer. This feather symbolism crept into our language during the frontier days and has survived to the present. Hence, when complimenting a person on a job well done, we often say "That's a feather in your cap."—*Fresno Bee*.